Tensions of multilevel governance:
The European Commission in focus

University of Potsdam,
Master seminar
Winter term 2023/2024
Tuesday, 10–12 a.m., Room 3.06.S23

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A. Course outline and learning goals

The European Commission serves as an ideal laboratory for examining the complexities of contemporary multilevel governance. Initially designed as an independent, expertise-driven secretariat to facilitate efficient international cooperation, the Commission now wields more political competences than almost any other international bureaucracy. Simultaneously, it faces significant constraints from national governments, the European Parliament, and increasingly contentious public debates on inter- and supranational decision-making. How does the Commission navigate these tensions? Can it continue to generate effective solutions to cross-national challenges in an increasingly politicized environment?

This seminar aims to provide Master students with current perspectives on the functioning of this crucial supranational institution. The first block reviews the various roles assigned to the European Commission by theories of European integration, international organization, and public administration. The second block delves into the Commission's formal competences, organizational structure, and staffing patterns in light of these roles. Building on this foundation, the third and most extensive block examines recent studies on the Commission's political and administrative behavior, specifically its legislative influence, its agenda-setting abilities, its responsiveness to contentious public debates, and its public communication.

Along this route, the seminar will equip students with an encompassing perspective on a key supranational institution, provides them with analytical tools to grasp the Commission's behavior in contemporary European politics, and offers them different theoretical lenses and empirical research approaches to study this and comparable institutions more generally.

B. Course requirements and seminar organization

In this seminar, we want to *jointly* develop a comprehensive and systematic understanding of the European Commission and its role(s) in European politics. To this end, we will explore some classic scholarly arguments but will then mostly focus on studies covering different aspects of the European Commission and its actions empirically and systematically. To achieve this together, I expect you to engage with both the substantive and methodological aspects of this literature *prior* to each session: what do you think about the arguments and the evidence presented? What questions remain unanswered from your point of view?

Each weekly session will begin with a teaching-oriented introduction to the respective topic and you are invited to submit your questions beforehand or raise them during the seminar. We will then delve deeper into each topic through presentations of relevant research projects. Prerequisites for a successful completion of the seminar thus are:

- Studying the *compulsory reading before the session*: please gather your questions or discussion points for the session!

- *Regular attendance* at the seminar: If you are unable to come to individual sessions, please notify me briefly via email.

- One *presentation* of a published study or your own research design on the topic of the respective session: Suitable studies are recommended below and will be distributed during the first two weeks via Moodle. Your welcome to present other studies or your own research projects fitting a session topic but please coordinate individually with me beforehand during the first two seminar weeks.

- An independent, ideally *empirical term paper* (20 pages, ~ 6.000 words) that deals with a self-chosen question regarding the functions and/or functioning of the European Commission. The guidelines for good scientific practice apply.

The subsequent pages briefly outline the topics of each session and list the relevant academic literature based on the following system:

(O) Obligatory reading to be read by all participants before the session.

(P) Advanced reading and applied studies: These texts are also recommended and distributed for student presentations.

(F) Recommendations for further or classic literature on the topic of the session: for those who wish to delve deeper into the respective topic.

The seminar is organized via *Moodle.UP*: there you will find the course materials, you can register for your presentation, and you receive all short-term seminar announcements. Please make sure to enroll in and to regularly check the corresponding Moodle course (short title: EU-Commission) – the corresponding enrollment key will be provided in the first session. For individual consultations, please schedule appointments via E-Mail.

C. Detailed seminar outline – sessions & literature

<u>**1st session (17.10.2023)**</u>
<u>Introduction to the seminar and its organisation,</u>
<u>and a brief history of the European Commission in numbers</u>

First block: Theoretical perspectives on the European Commission

<u>**2nd session (24.10.2023)**</u>
<u>Entrepreneur or mere agent: The Commission in classical integration theories</u>

This session looks at how the Commission is viewed and portrayed and neo-functionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism, two classical theories of European integration. In both accounts, central supranational institutions play an important role for institutionalized co-operation, but what they (are supposed to) do is interpreted quite differently: Is the Commission a pro-active integration entrepreneur or merely an agent of the member states?

(O) Tranholm-Mikkelsen, J. (1991) 'Neo-functionalism: Obstinate or Obsolete? A Reappraisal in the Light of the New Dynamism of the EC', *Millennium* 20(1): 1–22.

(O) Moravcsik, A. (1993) 'Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 31(4): 473–524.

(P) Moravcsik, A. (1999) 'A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation', *International Organization* 53(02): 267–306.

(P) Cram, L. (1993) 'Calling the Tune Without Paying the Piper? Social policy regulation: the role of the Commission in European Community social policy', *Policy & Politics* 21(2): 135–146.

(P) Haroche, P. (2023) 'A "Geopolitical Commission": Supranationalism Meets Global Power Competition', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* n/a(n/a), doi:10.1111/jcms.13440.

<u>**3rd session (31.10.2023)**</u>
<u>Preferences, rules, and norms: The Commission in institutionalist integration theories</u>

Inspired a.o. by classical theory in international relations and international organization, institutionalist approaches to European integration offer more qualified perspectives on the European Commission. Here we will get to know the Commission as a potentially influential agenda-setter which is, however, constrained by the preferences, decision-making rules, and norms that govern political cooperation in Europe.

(O) Pollack, M. (1997) 'Delegation, agency, and agenda setting in the European Community', *International Organization* 51(1): 99–134.

(O) Tsebelis, G. and Garrett, G. (2001) 'The Institutional Foundations of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union', *International Organization* 55(2): 357–390.

(P) Pollack, M. (1994) 'Creeping Competence: The Expanding Agenda of the European Community', *Journal of Public Policy* 14(2): 95–145.

(P) Pierson, P. (1996) 'The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutionalist Analysis', *Comparative Political Studies* 29(2): 123–163.

(P) Bickerton, C. J., Hodson, D. and Puetter, U. (2015) 'The New Intergovernmentalism: European Integration in the Post-Maastricht Era', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(4): 703–722.

(P) Scharpf, F. W. (1988) 'The Joint-Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration', *Public Administration* 66(3): 239–278.

(F) Aspinwall, M. D. and Schneider, G. (2000) 'Same Menu, Seperate Tables: The Institutionalist Turn in Political Science and the Study of European Integration', *European Journal of Political Research* 38(1): 1–36.

4th session (07.11.2023)
The Commission as a bureaucracy: Public administration perspectives

The European Commission can also be understood as a bureaucracy: it is a large organization that resembles but also differs from national administrations in certain respects and faces numerous managerial challenges in effectively and efficiently completing its tasks. In this session we will thus investigate literature that approaches the Commission from public administration and organizational theory perspectives.

(O) Trondal, J. (2011) 'Bureaucratic Structure and Administrative Behaviour: Lessons from International Bureaucracies', *West European Politics* 34(4): 795–818.

(O) Balint et al. (2008) 'Bureaucratic change in the European administrative space: The case of the European commission', *West European Politics* 31(4): 677–700.

(P) Christensen, J., van den Bekerom, P. and van der Voet, J. (2017) 'Representative bureaucracy and specialist knowledge in the European Commission', *Public Administration* 95(2): 450–467.

(P) Bauer, M. W. and Ege, J. (2012) 'Politicization within the European Commission's bureaucracy', *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 78(3): 403–424.

(P) Jankauskas, V. and Eckhard, S. (2019) 'International Bureaucracies as Strategic Actors: How the Better Regulation Reform Strengthens the European Commission', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 60(4): 681–699.

(F) Trondal, J. (2007) 'The public administration turn in integration research', *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(6): 960–972.

(F)   Kassim, H. (2018) 'The European Commission as an Administration', in E. Ongaro and S. Van Thiel (eds). *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 783–804.

5ᵗʰ session (14.11.2023)
So what kind of animal is it?
The tensions of multi-level governance in one institution

The preceding sessions have shown that the European Commission can be assessed along very different standards – is it a mere international secretariat, is it some new kind of public administration, or is it even a full-blown political executive governing Europe? This question highlights tensions in the broader system of multi-level governance and shared powers in the European Union – and in this session we will try to develop a map that helps us to assess the different features and actions of the Commission that we will investigate in the second and third block of the seminar.

(O)   Christiansen, T. (1997) 'Tensions of European governance: politicized bureaucracy and multiple accountability in the European Commission', *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(1): 73–90.

(O)   Tsakatika, M. (2005) 'Claims to Legitimacy: The European Commission between Continuity and Change', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 43(1): 193–220.

(P)   Nugent, N. and Rhinard, M. (2019) 'The "political" roles of the European Commission', *Journal of European Integration* 41(2): 203–220.

(P)   Wille, A. (2010) 'Political Bureaucratic Accountability in the EU Commission: Modernising the Executive', *West European Politics* 33(5): 1093–1116.

(F)   Majone, G. (2002) 'The European Commission: The Limits of Centralization and the Perils of Parliamentarization', *Governance* 15(3): 375–392.

(F)   Bartolini, S. (2006) 'Mass Politics in Brussels: How Benign Could It Be?', *Zeitschrift für Staats- und Europawissenschaften* 4(1): 28–56.

Second block: Competences and structure of the Commission

6ᵗʰ session (21.11.2023):
What is the Commission nowadays supposed to do?
Formal competences, tasks and policies

In this session we will initially list the Commission's contemporaneous competences in different policy areas and different stages of the policy cycle as prescribed in the EU treaties. In the presentations of applied studies we will then look into what these formal competences (or the lack thereof) means for the practice of European decision-making outside of secondary legislation.

(O) Introductory textbook chapter on the Commission – ==*tba*==

(O) Textbook chapter on EU competences (exclusive, shared) – ==*tba*==

(P) Nugent, N. and Rhinard, M. (2016) 'Is the European Commission Really in Decline?', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(5): 1199–1215.

(P) Biesenbender, J. (2011) 'The Dynamics of Treaty Change – Measuring the Distribution of Power in the European Union', *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)* 15(5): 1–24.

(P) Meunier, S. (2007) 'Managing Globalization? The EU in International Trade Negotiations', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(4): 905–926.

(P) Laffan, B. (1997) 'From policy entrepreneur to policy manager: the challenge facing the European Commission', *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(3): 422–438.

(P) From, J. (2002) 'Decision-making in a complex environment: a sociological institutionalist analysis of competition policy decision-making in the European Commission', *Journal of European Public Policy* 9(2): 219–237.

7th session (28.11.2023):
How is the Commission organized?
The Directorates-General and their coordination

In this session we will concentrate on the internal organization of the Commission. We will primarily learn about the Directorates-General, the major organizational units of the Commission akin to ministries in a national administration, and the Secretariat General, the central coordinating unit akin to something like a prime-minister's office. Our interest will be in their internal coordination or the lack thereof – and its implications for the policy output that the Commission produces.

(O) Hartlapp, M., Metz, J. and Rauh, C. (2012) 'Linking Agenda Setting to Coordination Structures: Bureaucratic Politics inside the European Commission', *Journal of European Integration* 35(4): 425–441.

(O) Senninger, R., Finke, D. and Blom-Hansen, J. (2021) 'Coordination inside government administrations: Lessons from the EU Commission', *Governance* 34(3): 707-726.

(P) Blom-Hansen, J. and Finke, D. (2020) 'Reputation and Organizational Politics: Inside the EU Commission', *The Journal of Politics* 82(1): 135–148.

(P) Candel, J. J. L., Princen, S. and Biesbroek, R. (2023) 'Patterns of coordination in the European Commission: an analysis of interservice consultations around climate change adaptation policy (2007–2018)', *Journal of European Public Policy* 30(1): 104–127.

(P) Chatzopoulou, S. (2022) 'Resilience of the Silo Organizational Structure in the European Commission', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 61(2): 545–562.

(P) Hustedt, T. and Seyfried, M. (2015) 'Co-ordination across internal organizational boundaries: how the EU Commission co-ordinates climate policies', *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(6): 888–905.

(P) Hustedt, T. and Seyfried, M. (2018) 'Inside the EU Commission: Evidence on the Perceived Relevance of the Secretariat General in Climate Policy-Making', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(2): 368–384.

(P) Cram, L. (1994) 'The European commission as a multi-organization: Social policy and IT policy in the EU', *Journal of European Public Policy* 1(2): 195–217.

(F) Kassim, H. (2006) 'The Secretariat General of the European Commission, 1958-2003: A singular Institution', in A. Smith (ed.). *Politics and the European Commission. Actors, Interdependence, Legitimacy*. London: Routledge, pp. 47–67.

(F) Hartlapp, M., Metz, J. and Rauh, C. (2014) *Which Policy for Europe?: Power and Conflict inside the European Commission*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

8th session (05.12.2023):
Who is leading the Commission? Commission presidents and their selection

Here we will look at the top leadership of the Commission and scrutinize how the presidents are selected – and why this matters, a.o. for the different views on the alleged democratic deficit of the Commission.

(O) Kassim, H., Connolly, S., Dehousse, R., Rozenberg, O. and Bendjaballah, S. (2017) 'Managing the house: the Presidency, agenda control and policy activism in the European Commission', *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(5): 653–674.

(O) Müller, H. (2016) 'Between Potential, Performance and Prospect: Revisiting the Political Leadership of the EU Commission President', *Politics and Governance* 4(2): 68–79.

(P) Hix, S. (1997) 'Executive Selection in the European Union: Does the Commission President Investiture Procedure Reduce the Democratic Deficit?', *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)* 1(21), available at http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/1997-021a.htm.

(P) Hobolt, S. (2014) 'A vote for the President? The role of Spitzenkandidaten in the 2014 European Parliament elections', *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(10): 1528–1540.

(P) Bürgin, A. (2018) 'Intra- and Inter-Institutional Leadership of the European Commission President: An Assessment of Juncker's Organizational Reforms', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(4): 837–853.

(P) Gelleny, R. and Anderson, C. (2000) 'The Economy, Accountability, and Public Support for the President of the European Commission', *European Union Politics* 1(2): 173–200.

(P)   Pansardi, P. and Battegazzorre, F. (2018) 'The discursive legitimation strategies of the president of the commission: a qualitative content analysis of the State of the Union Addresses (SOTEU)', *Journal of European Integration* 40(7): 853–871.

(F)   Crum, B. (2023) 'Why the European Parliament lost the Spitzenkandidaten-process', *Journal of European Public Policy* 30(2): 193–213.

(F)   Ross, G. (1995) *Jacques Delors and European Integration*, New York: Oxford University Press.

9th session (12.12.2023):
Who is leading the Commission? Commissioners and their cabinets

This additional sessions on top-leadership addresses the College of Commissioners. Who gets selected for these posts an how? And what does it tell us about the (changing) nature of the European Commission? If time permits, we will also touch briefly on the personal offices of the Commissioners, the so-called Cabinets …

(O)   Wonka, A. (2007) 'Technocratic and independent? The appointment of European Commissioners and its policy implications', *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(2): 169–189.

(O)   Mérand, F. (2021) '8. The European Commission:: the cabinets and the services', in *The Institutions of the European Union*. Oxford University Press, pp. 177–202.

(P)   Wille, A. (2012) 'The politicization of the EU Commission: democratic control and the dynamics of executive selection', *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 78(3): 383–402.

(P)   Döring, H. (2007) 'The Composition of the College of Commissioners: Patterns of Delegation', *European Union Politics* 8(2): 207–228.

(P)   Franchino, F. (2009) 'Experience and the distribution of portfolio payoffs in the European Commission', *European Journal of Political Research* 48(1): 1–30.

(P)   Killermann, K. (2016) 'Loose Ties or Strong Bonds? The Effect of a Commissioner's Nationality and Partisanship on Voting in the Council', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(6): 1367–1383.

(P)   Thomson, R. and Dumont, P. (2022) 'A comparison of two views on the European Commission: engine of integration and conduit of national interests', *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(1): 136–154.

(P)   Gehring, K. and Schneider, S. A. (2018) 'Towards the Greater Good? EU Commissioners' Nationality and Budget Allocation in the European Union', *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 10(1): 214–239.

(F)   Mérand, F. (2021) *The Political Commissioner: A European Ethnography*, Oxford University Press.

10th session (19.12.2023):
Who is running the Commission? The officials working in the organisation

In this session, we leave the 13th floor of the Berlaymont building and look closer at the officials serving in or rather running the organisation. Who are they and what do they think about their roles?

(O) Kassim, H. (2013) 'Chapter 2 The Commission and its Personnel', in H. Kassim et al. (eds). *The European Commission of the Twenty–First Century*. Oxford University Press, p. 0, doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199559523.003.0002.

(O) David Spence and Anne Stevens (2006) 'Staff and Personnel Policy in the Commission', in David Spence and Geoffrey Edwards (eds). *The European Commission*. London: John Harper, pp. 173–208.

(P) Hooghe, L. (2005) 'Several Roads Lead to International Norms, but Few Via International Socialization: A Case Study of the European Commission', *International Organization* 59(04): 861–898.

(P) Hooghe, L. (2012) 'Images of Europe: How Commission Officials Conceive Their Institution's Role*', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 50(1): 87–111.

(P) Ellinas, A. and Suleiman, E. (2011) 'Supranationalism in a Transnational Bureaucracy: The Case of the European Commission', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(5): 923–947.

(P) Bes, B. J. (2017) 'Europe's executive in stormy weather: How does politicization affect commission officials' attitudes?', *Comparative European Politics* 15(4): 533–556.

(P) Suvarierol, S. (2008) 'Beyond the myth of nationality: Analysing networks within the European Commission', *West European Politics* 31(4): 701–724.

(F) Suvarierol, S. (2009) 'Networking in Brussels: Nationality over a Glass of Wine', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(2): 411–435.

(F) Kassim, H. et al. (2013) *The European Commission of the Twenty–First Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Third block: The European Commission in action

11th session (09.01.2024)
How much does the Commission shape EU laws?

In this session we start to switch from what and how the Commission is to what it actually does – zooming in first on legislative initiative, one of its most distinctive institutional rights. But how influential is the Commission here? Why can it influence EU law and how successful is it in doing so?

(O)   Blom-Hansen, J. and Senninger, R. (2021) 'The Commission in EU Policy Preparation', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 59(3): 625–642.

(P)   Rauh, C. (2021) 'One agenda-setter or many? The varying success of policy initiatives by individual Directorates-General of the European Commission 1994–2016', *European Union Politics* 22(1): 3–24.

(P)   Bailer, S. (2014) 'An Agent Dependent on the EU Member States? The Determinants of the European Commission's Legislative Success in the European Union', *Journal of European Integration* 36(1): 37–53.

(P)   Kreppel, A. and Oztas, B. (2016) 'Leading the Band or Just Playing the Tune? Reassessing the Agenda-Setting Powers of the European Commission', *Comparative Political Studies* 50(8): 1118–1150.

(P)   Boranbay-Akan, S., König, T. and Osnabrügge, M. (2017) 'The imperfect agenda-setter: Why do legislative proposals fail in the EU decision-making process?', *European Union Politics* 18(2): 168–187.

(P)   Schmidt, S. K. (2000) 'Only an Agenda Setter?: The European Commission's Power over the Council of Ministers', *European Union Politics* 1(1): 37–61.

(F)   Tsebelis, G. and Garrett, G. (2000) 'Legislative Politics in the European Union', *European Union Politics* 1(1): 9–36.

12th session (16.01.2024)
How much does the Commission influence the EU's overall policy agenda?

Beyond formally influencing individual laws, the Commission may also use softer and more informal means to influence the broader policy agenda of the European Union – let's have a look at these channels …

(O)   Princen, S. (2007) 'Agenda-setting in the European Union: a theoretical exploration and agenda for research', *Journal of European Public Policy* 14(1): 21–38.

(P)   Hartlapp, M. (2017) 'How time empowers agency: combining the EU Commission's political powers and its administration's advantage of acting from a long-term perspective', *Journal of European Integration* 39(3): 303–317.

(P)   Oztas, B. and Kreppel, A. (2022) 'Power or Luck? The Limitations of the European Commission's Agenda Setting Power and Autonomous Policy Influence', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 60(2): 408–426.

(P)   Kostadinova, P. and Giurcanu, M. (2020) 'Europarties' election pledges and European Commission legislative priorities: An assessment of their overlap', *Party Politics* 26(6): 795–806.

(P)   Bocquillon, P. and Dobbels, M. (2013) 'An elephant on the 13th floor of the Berlaymont? European Council and Commission relations in legislative agenda setting', *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(1): 20–38.

(P)   Klüver, H. (2011) 'The contextual nature of lobbying: Explaining lobbying success in the European Union', *European Union Politics* 12(4): 483–506.

(F)   Schmidt, S. K. (2000) 'Only an Agenda Setter?: The European Commission's Power over the Council of Ministers', *European Union Politics* 1(1): 37–61.

13th session (23.01.2024):
A technocracy in stormy weather:
Does the Commission respond to public EU politicization? And should it?

Controversial and decidedly public debates about the EU more broadly and the Commission, in particular, have surged over the last decades, putting legitimation pressure on the Commission. How does the Commission deal with this – and does it adapt its policies in response?

(O)   van der Veer / Rauh (2023) Responsiveness, Edwar Elgar Chapter - tba

(O)   Rauh, C. (2019) 'EU politicization and policy initiatives of the European Commission: the case of consumer policy', *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(3): 344–365.

(P)   van der Veer, R. A. and Haverland, M. (2018) 'Bread and butter or bread and circuses? Politicisation and the European Commission in the European Semester', *European Union Politics* 19(3): 524–545.

(P)   Haverland, M., de Ruiter, M. and Van de Walle, S. (2018) 'Agenda-setting by the European Commission. Seeking public opinion?', *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(3): 327–345.

(P)   Koop, C., Reh, C. and Bressanelli, E. (2022) 'Agenda-setting under pressure: Does domestic politics influence the European Commission?', *European Journal of Political Research* 61(1): 46–66.

14th session (30.01.2024):
How does the Commission communicate with the wider public?

The politicization of European integration also means that a broader public audience is watching what the European Commission is doing. How well (or how badly) does the commission communicate to and with the wider European public?

(O) Meyer, C. (1999) 'Political Legitimacy and the Invisibility of Politics: Exploring the European Union's Communication Deficit', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37(4): 617–639.

(P) Rauh, C. (2023) 'Clear messages to the European public? The language of European Commission press releases 1985–2020', *Journal of European Integration* 45(4): 683–701.

(P) Özdemir, S. F. and Rauh, C. (2022) 'A bird's eye view: Supranational EU actors on Twitter', *Politics and Governance* 10(1): 133–145.

(P) Müller, M., Braun, C. and Fraussen, B. (2022) 'Cautious communicators: Strategic communication of European Union commissioners in regulatory decision-making', *European Union Politics* 23(3): 509–528.

(P) Gattermann, K. (2018) 'Mediated Personalization of Executive European Union Politics: Examining Patterns in the Broadsheet Coverage of the European Commission, 1992–2016', *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 23(3): 345–366.

(P) Rauh, C. (2022) 'Supranational emergency politics? What executives' public communication may tell us', *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(6): 966–978.

15th session (06.02.2024):
Summary and outlook

Based on a survey among the students, we will summarise the insights we have gained during the seminar, a.o. by returning to the map of ideal types we have developed in session 4. This session will also leave room for broader student questions as well as for pitches and discussions of term paper ideas.

D. Further information and data sources on the European Commission

<mark>tba</mark>

https://github.com/michalovadek/eudata